THE WORLD GOVERNMENT I'M FOR

by RICHARD O. BOYER

NEW MASSES

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THE WILL TO A NEW DIXIE

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Gideon Jackson Walks Again. New political currents in the South.

by MARTHA HAMMOND

MY TEACHER HATES FOREIGNERS

Seymour Applebaum, 15-year-old New York student, kept a diary the School Board must read.

A GERMAN AMERICANS CAN ADMIRE *by CONRAD REINER*

Central - Adult

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: *The Gentle Bush, a chapter from Barbara Giles' forthcoming novel; A GI Comes Home, by David Gordon; About Artists by Artists: by the Soyers, Henry Botkin, George Daniel, Alton Pickens, Elizabeth Catlett; Is the Third Party American? by A. B. Magil.*

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

AND so we come to another New Year. There is much to say, in welcoming 1946, much. A great deal of it we have already said in our pages and you know pretty well what we expect of the coming year and what we feel must be done to make this year turn out to the good of our people . . . our people. In these paragraphs we don't want to cover old ground about the issues of today and the coming months. We want to talk a bit about people. Particularly about one person, an American by the name of Art Young.

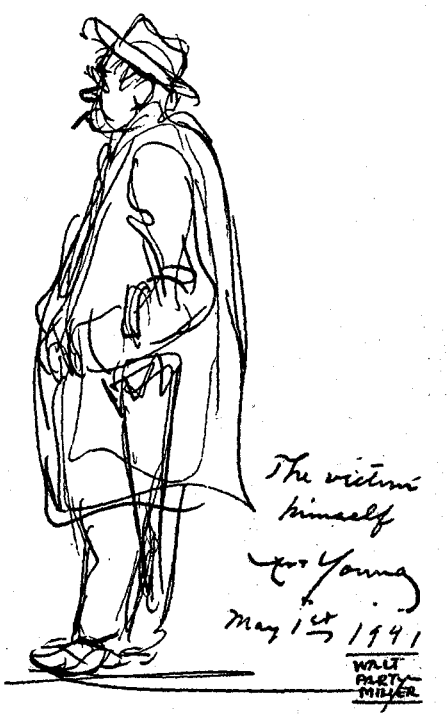
There was a man. Let's see now, was it a year or two ago that he died? Or was it yesterday? Somehow this great man's memory stays green, doesn't age, doesn't wither. How he would have welcomed this new year! He would have sensed the resurgence of our culture. He would have known that the men returning from the fronts, the young generation emerging from the greatest war of all time, have a lot to say, a lot to do, in the coming year. And he would have helped everybody, especially the fighters of pen and word, encouraged them, nursed them. We are especially proud of Art. As all our older readers will know, he and his associates founded the *Masses* back in 1911. He served as an editor of NEW MASSES until the day he died. And in his autobiography he wrote: "Establishment of the enterprise gave me a sense of fresh hope. The pages of NEW MASSES display vitality that was electric in its effects upon me, and undoubtedly upon other creative workers. Welcoming this magazine and expressing delight that the infant seemed so lusty, William Allen White, editor of the *Emporia Gazette* in Kansas, gave it only six months to live. But it has survived all the fears of friends and hopes of enemies that it might die an early death. . . . I have found satisfaction in numerous pictorial contributions to the NEW MASSES—necessarily less often in recent times—and it is good to know that this dependable vehicle of social protests exists."

Art, as much as any other man, saw to it that it would exist. His drawings still hang on the walls of thousands of his friends, and more than that, many are etched in their memories. Who can ever forget his slum children looking up at a sky full of stars and saying that they look as thick as bedbugs; or his drawings of Jesus Christ, "the workingman of Nazareth" who was to speak at "Brotherhood Hall" on the subject "The Rights of Labor." Or the devastating comment on the hippopottamus-shaped child-labor employer saying to investigators: "You see, it keeps them out of mischief." Or his drawing of Hoover followed by a mangy dog tagged "Depression" with Herbie saying petulantly "You stop following me, dya'hear? Here I am all dressed up for a second term and you spoil everything." One could go on like this for pages, but it isn't necessary. You remember them.

Well, Art was a fighting man. An artist and a fighting man. He fought evil wherever he found it, and he fought for a way of life to eliminate evil—for socialism. He realized his dream had come true on one-sixth of the earth; he honored and loved the people of the Soviet Union as well as his own. He bitterly assailed the anti-Sovieteers, some of whom had been his associates before they turned coat and became enemies of the people. Art fought them, fought everything that corrupts, that lies. He fought for a clean, sunlit world, and he never stopped fighting for that till his last day on earth.

That was Art, Art's life. And we shall do our best, in 1946, to carry on in his tradition.

J. N.



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NEW MASSES

VOL. LVIII JANUARY 1, 1946 NO. 1

GIDEON JACKSON WALKS AGAIN

By MARTHA HAMMOND

Columbia, S. C.

NOTHING much stirs in that three-story mausoleum which is South Carolina's state capitol but the rats in the basement and the bats in the dome. A few elderly office clerks, rusty and weather-beaten like the statues of the dead Confederate storm troopers in the capitol yard, wander in and out of different departments to swap genealogies and, maybe, speculate on what might have happened if Lee could have held out at Appomattox. The blind girl who sells cokes on the ground floor has more time than she has money or customers. The Confederate museum, covering most of the top floor, is deserted except for odd old ladies who creep in to admire glass-encased pistols, once used to shoot down rebel slaves. But each morning the museum's curator sees to it that the bronze plaques, commemorating different regiments of South Carolina secessionists, are polished bright and clean by a Negro porter whose ancestors may have fought in the black rebellion of Denmark Vesey, down in Anderson County.

The Confederate flag hangs over the raised desks of the presiding officers in the silent, locked legislative chambers as it did in 1861—but not in 1871, when Negro-poor white legislators like Howard Fast's Gideon Jackson and Anderson Clay wrote Reconstruction's code of democracy. What has happened in South Carolina since the counter-revolution of Wade Hampton and his Ku Klux-descended Red Shirts belongs to Confederate archaeology rather than to American history. For South Carolina, first Southern state to secede, went backward to Fort Sumter when it crushed its people and, with them, those statesmen of both races who took up from Appomattox to build America.

When I turned away from the dead Confederates in the capitol, I met the living sons and daughters of Gideon Jackson—600 strong, from every corner of South Carolina—gathered recently for a state conference of their new people's movement, the Progressive Democratic Party. The party was, in fact, acting as host organization for the National Council of Negro Democrats, meeting, significantly, in the South where Negroes are generally denied the right to vote.

The Progressive Democratic Party numbers both Negroes and whites in its statewide set-up, though the latter are still few in numbers. The party is taking up the fight where Gideon laid it down, just seventy years ago. A little over a year old, it is today the second political party in South Carolina and is easily the most developed, militant people's political movement in this awakening one-quarter of the country bounded on the north by the Potomac and on the south by the Rio Grande. It originally started out under the name of the Colored Democratic Party after the state legislature, last year, had evaded the decision of the US Supreme Court in the Texas white primary case by repealing all laws governing the South Carolina primaries. South Carolina white women then came to the leaders of the new party saying, "Why do you Jim Crow yourselves when the whole state needs something like this?" The new movement then changed its name to the Progressive Democratic Party and wiped out all color bars in its precinct clubs, now covering thirty-eight out of the forty-six South Carolina counties. A white woman contributed the first five dollars to the treasury.

The party nominated a Negro South Carolinian, Osceola McKaine, then clerking in a Columbia store, as its candidate for the US Senate to succeed Cotton Ed Smith, who had already been defeated in the primaries by then Governor and now Senator Olin D. Johnston. In a state where the Republican opposition generally polls only a token vote of around 2,000, McKaine received more than 4,000, running second in a field of four candidates, with Charleston city and county alone casting a thousand ballots for him. The new party, solidly supporting President Roosevelt for reelection, also sent a rival delegation to the Democratic national convention in Chicago to contest the seats of the "lily white" poll tax delegates. Recently, it polled enough votes to decide the results of two South Carolina municipal elections.

THAT was the background of moral victory for this conference of men and women whose fathers had shaped a new course for the South in those days when the people governed the South. As I started shaking hands with delegates from all the four corners of Carolina, gathering for the opening session on the campus of Allen University, I began to shed the cobwebs which I had felt accumulating on my soul during my visit to the capitol. Here were the men and women who would some day go to that capitol as lawmakers and here were the people who would help elect them—small tobacco and cotton farmers, trim school teachers from the palmetto bottoms, country pastors following in the tradition of those slave preachers who helped organize the resistance of their kinsmen to the planters; little businessmen, and individuals like McKaine, now an organizer for the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Industrial Workers-CIO, who repreesnt a dynamic new force in the South—the modern labor movement.

More than two hundred delegates were present during the two-day conference, whose sessions were held at different times in the University, in neighboring Benedict College, and in a Negro Methodist church. Visitors swelled the attendance to about 600, with the local papers giving the conference much, if critical, publicity. And one note kept resounding throughout those sessions—complete political emancipation for all the South's people plus an all-out drive to qualify every potential voter for the uncertain 1946 elections.

"I don't want anyone teaching my children who is not a registered voter," Mrs. Modjeska Simkins of Columbia, prominent Negro clubwoman and public health worker, said as the house rocked with applause. "I don't want anyone preaching to me who isn't."

Then one woman delegate after the

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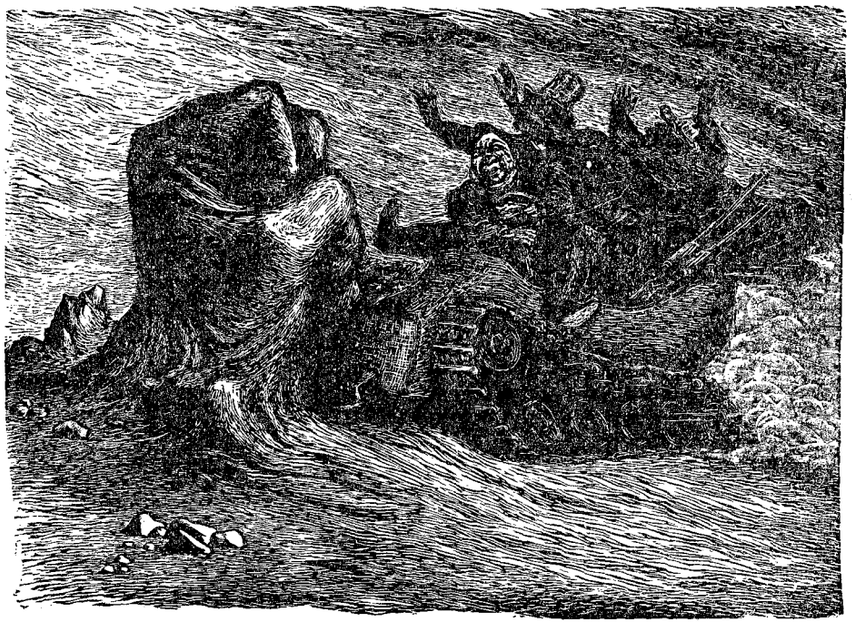

Weyhe Gallery.

"Obstacle," wood engraving by Leopoldo Mendez.

other, in this state where Negro women generally have only the status of uneducated menial servants, arose to tell how she had organized party auxiliaries in her county to knock on doors, hold blackboard lectures, and pass out literature showing Negroes how to register for the ballot. A pretty young teacher from the bottoms said that she was instructing her pupils in the mechanics of voting in order that they might play their full part as citizens when they came of age. Mrs. Annie Belle Watson, teacher at Benedict College and director of women's work for PDP, pointed out that the poll tax is levied only upon men in South Carolina, and that Negro women constitute an enormous reserve for democracy in this state where forty-six percent of the population is colored.

Back in 1876, South Carolina Negroes were betrayed by the Republican Party, which they had supported, through the infamous Hayes Compromise which left the Confederate oligarchy in political control of the South and the predatory Northern monopolists in economic control of both sections. But these delegates, who quoted from Harriet Tubman, Denmark Vesey and Sojourner Truth in their speeches, who several times referred to Howard Fast's great novel of the South Carolina Reconstruction period, *Freedom Road*, have drawn a lesson from that betrayal. They are giving no blank check to the Democratic Party. They said in their resolutions, pointedly addressed to the Democratic National Committee, that the committee had "glaringly failed to protect the rights of Negroes to vote in the South." They implied that the committee should use its influence with the Democratic majority in Congress to pass the Marcantonio anti-poll tax bill after a vice-president of the National Council of Negro Democrats, James E. Williams of New York, had tried unsuccessfully to substitute an endorsement of the O'Mahoney proposed constitutional amendment to "abolish" this toll on the ballot.

Touching a sore spot, the delegates passed a resolution asking that organized labor in the South join with Negro political movements in qualifying colored Americans to vote. For as yet in Dixie it must be recorded that labor political action committees have unfortunately been too much influenced by traditional prejudices to give all-out support in the fight for equal suffrage.

NEGRO separatist and "non-cooperation with whites" tendencies, which were expressed by a small group including two Negro editors, C. A. Scott of the Atlanta *Daily World* and Emory O. Jackson of the Birmingham *World*, received scant support or sympathy from the delegates. "Back in 1875, Francis Cardozo and other educated South Carolina Negro leaders rejected further alliance with the poor whites to stave off the impending reaction of the planters," Harold Preece, white Tennessee newspaperman, who spoke at the closing session, recalled: "In 1876, Wade Hampton and the Red Shirts marched in and took over the state capitol at Columbia. If your people reject alliance with my people in 1945, then the same thing may happen in 1946 that happened in 1876."

Tendencies toward separatism were also opposed by one of the leading figures attending the Council meeting—Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier of Washington, representing Negro Democratic Congressman William L. Dawson of Chicago. Following the conference, McKaine, executive secretary of the party, but speaking as an individual, issued a statement to the local daily, the Columbia *State*, criticizing a speech of Williams' during the conference calling upon Negroes "to fight for their constitutional rights regardless of certain white liberals because they [the liberals] won't go the whole way."

"I wish to take strong exception to this statement [of Williams']," McKaine said. "The liberal whites do not wish to be divorced from the Negro group and cannot be. And Negroes cannot win their struggle for their 'constitutional rights' without the support and cooperation of the white liberals. Moreover, I wish to go on record as opposing Negro nationalism as vigorously and as bitterly as I oppose 'white supremacy.' Furthermore, I shall oppose all attempts to isolate the Negro people from the main progressive political movements in this country whether such attempts are made by Negro or white groups."

The political future of the Southern Negro, destined to carry the poor white to final emancipation with him, is an encouraging one if he can squelch attempts of racists—white and colored—to push him down the blind alley of separation and distrust. In every Southern state today, there is an organized Negro suffrage movement which has received a dynamic new impetus from the Texas primary decision. Only in South Carolina did Negroes consider it necessary to take the initiative in organizing a new political party to contest the poll-tax regular Democratic organization, which is geared to the South's past of hookworm and ignorance rather than the South's future of good health, good education, and good living.

Political lines are changing in Dixie as they are changing in the rest of an America forced to make the decision between democracy and reaction if we are to know peace for these coming generations of man. Inevitably, those lines will change and broaden in the South to include all the disfranchised, disinherited majority of Negroes and poor whites, who may abandon the poll tax Democratic party for something better—as they are already abandoning the hoe for the wheel.

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WILHELM PIECK: A GREAT GERMAN

By CONRAD REINER

AMERICAN correspondents in Germany do not often mention his name but Wilhelm Pieck, the chairman of the German Communist Party, is doing a job of uniting German anti-fascists which cannot be ignored. In Pieck's life are linked together all the progressive phases of the German labor movement and his story mirrors the heights and the depths, the successes and the terrible defeats which Germany's workers have experienced.

Pieck will be seventy years old this January. His youth was typically proletarian. After completing elementary school in a little town near Berlin he became an apprentice in a carpenter's shop. It was customary for an apprentice to travel and so he worked in different cities. At nineteen he joined the Wood Workers' Union and the Social Democratic Party in Bremen. This was at a time when the German socialist movement had emerged from the underground into which it was driven by Bismarck. The Social Democrats, seduced by their electoral successes, were revising Marx in order to avoid too sharp an opposition to the ruling class. Young as he was, Pieck became an unrelenting fighter against the distortions of Marxist theory. Bremen employers placed him on a blacklist and finally he was refused work in all factories. As a delegate from Bremen to the Social Democratic convention held in Nuremberg in 1908, he spoke his mind against the reconciliation policies of the Social Democratic leadership. "The party," he said, "should oppose those who try systematically to direct the workers' movement into wrong channels which do not lead to the conquest of political power. The role of the workers is certainly not to be the followers of right-wing leaders."

In time Pieck became the president of the Wood Workers' Union and was elected a deputy to the Bremen parliament. (Bremen was an autonomous German state.) He came to know Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht, the recognized leaders of the Social Democratic Party's left wing. Immediately after the outbreak of World War I Pieck took the position of a socialist internationalist and protested the policy of granting the Kaiser war credits. The Social Democratic central committee replied to Pieck by relieving him of his party functions. He did not yield. On the contrary, the underground became his home. He took to organizing forbidden meetings; he found print shops to publish leaflets and pamphlets right under the nose of the imperial court. On May 28, 1915, demands for peace sounded near the Reichstag building; it was the first women's demonstration against the war, and its organizer, Wilhelm Pieck, was arrested shortly afterwards. After many months in solitary confinement he was sent to the front. In the fire of battle before Verdun and at the Somme, Pieck distributed among his soldier comrades the "Spartacus Letters" directed against German imperialism. The "Spartacus Letters" were prepared by the Spartacus League, which was the first organized expression against the war policies of the Social Democrats.

In 1917, Pieck left his detachment and, though in immediate danger of being executed for desertion, again took up his revolutionary activity in Berlin. His work there became very important because Liebknecht, Luxembourg and Clara Zetkin, as well as other left-wing leaders, had been imprisoned. Pieck was instrumental in organizing strikes against the war as well as aiding in the publication of Spartacus League literature. The police were after him again and early in 1918 he fled to Holland, where he issued and smuggled over the frontier a newspaper called *The Fight.*

With the German armies disintegrating and the symptoms of revolutionary struggle developing, Pieck secretly returned to Berlin in October 1918. From that point on he played a most significant part in the events which culminated in the overthrow of the monarchy. Together with Liebknecht he was the moving spirit of the underground organization of shop delegates which prepared the revolution. The leaflet that proclaimed the general strike for Nov. 9, 1918 bears his signature, among others.

On the very first day of the revolution, the Social Democratic leaders sought to prevent its development by allying themselves secretly with Marshal von Hindenburg and other reactionaries. In January 1919, the Social Democratic government attacked Berlin workers with guns and mine throwers. Pieck was arrested along with Liebknecht and Luxembourg and brought to the fashionable Hotel Eden. There the soldiery, which later became the nucleus of Hitler's SA and SS troops, struck down Liebknecht and Luxembourg. On the floor above, Pieck stood, guarded by a soldier, facing a wall. The noncommissioned officer Runge, whose rifle butt had hit Liebknecht and crushed Rosa Luxembourg's skull, was about to do the same to Pieck.

I SHALL never forget the scene I witnessed in a Berlin court in 1930. A liberal weekly had accused the highest prosecutor of the Republic of having favored the murder of Liebknecht and Luxembourg. The prosecutor filed a libel suit, which turned into a terrible self-indictment. Pieck was also present as a witness and was confronted with Runge. What a contrast! There stood Pieck with snowy white hair and a face that looked like a woodcut by a Gothic master. His sharp blue eyes turned on the man before him. Runge was a nervous wreck, for during all the twelve years that had passed since the murder, German workers, recognizing Runge as the killer of Luxembourg, had chased him from city to city. Runge told the court his story:

". . . After I had finished Rosa Luxembourg an officer told me: 'You did a fine job. Now go upstairs; there is the editor of the *Rote Fahne* (Red Flag). Shoot him!' On the stairs I met Lt. Krull and he repeated that I had to shoot the editor. I asked who had given the order. He answered: 'Capt. Pabst.' " [Pabst in the twenties became a key figure in fascist military circles and was rewarded by Hitler with a high position in Czechoslovak industry.]

At this point Pieck himself interrupted. "I heard steps," he said to the court, "turned around and saw this man." He pointed to Runge. "He put the rifle to his shoulder and took aim. I shouted 'Don't shoot! Bring me at once to your commanding officer, I have important things to tell him.' Runge hesitated but finally did what I asked him to do."

This saved Pieck's life. He had false papers and was not recognized as a Communist leader. After being taken to prison he escaped. He found the young party outlawed and its leaders murdered. More than ever he threw himself into the fight, constantly hunted

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by an army of spies. In July 1919, the Social Democratic Minister of the Interior, Wolfgang Heine, told the Prussian diet: "Yesterday the police made a big capture. Wilhelm Pieck was arrested." There was great applause. Four months later Pieck again escaped.

As months went by Pieck became one of the most important organizers of the rapidly growing Communist Party. He became chairman of the Communist delegation in the Berlin City Council and in the Prussian Diet. And in 1932 Berlin workers elected him to the Reichstag. It was also in that year that from the platform of the Prussian parliament Pieck attacked the Nazi deputies for what they were: "You are mercenaries of the trusts and the Junkers!" A Nazi, six feet tall, followed by the whole Hitler group, stormed down on Pieck and struck him over the head with a blackjack. The Nazi, with his well-groomed brown hair, long forehead and crooked nose, was Prince August von Hohenzollern: the youngest son of Kaiser Wilhelm was taking revenge for what Wilhelm Pieck had helped do to his father on Nov. 9, 1918.

THE last time I met Pieck before Hitler's rise to power was on July 20, 1932. It was the day of the coup d'etat through which the then Reichs Chancellor Baron von Papen overthrew the Prussian Social Democratic coalition government, which wasn't reactionary enough to suit him. Pieck was in Kassel preparing to speak at a rally for the forthcoming elections. He did not stay for the rally but returned to Berlin.

Germany's capital was feverishly excited. The members of the republican *"Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold"* forces, mostly Social Democrats, and the followers of the prohibited "Red Front Bund" streamed to their organizations' headquarters and prepared there for battle. I accompanied Pieck on his rounds of the Social Democratic and Reichsbanner meeting halls. Everyone knew him. Despite the deep-rooted animosity which ruled relations between the Social Democrats and Communists at the time, everyone listened to him with deepest respect: "Let us bury all differences! When Social Democrats and Communists fight in a united front, only then will they be successful in defeating the fascist coup d'etat."

"Bravo, Wilhelm," "You're right," was the almost unanimous answer. "We are waiting only for instructions."

These came in the evening. The Social Democratic and trade union leadership declared: "Do not be provoked by the Communists!" And another chance was lost for successful opposition to fascism.

Three days before the burning of the Reichstag the last legal mass meeting of the German Communists took place in the Berlin Sportspalast. Pieck spoke, continually interrupted by the supervising police officer, until the latter finally dissolved the meeting. And again Pieck had to move underground with his party. He saw his comrades fall left and right. Thousands of Communists were arrested and killed during these first months of the Hitler regime, among them many members of the Central Committee. Pieck helped in the formation of a network of new underground organizations. Then the Central Committee insisted that he go into exile to save his life.

It is now ten years since the Brussels Convention of the German Communist Party elected Pieck as its chairman. At this conference he formulated the slogan of the unity of anti-fascist groups of all camps. The fascist dictatorship had to be replaced by a democratic republic which could not be a repetition of the Weimar affair, but which would deprive the fascists of all means of agitation and dethrone the regime of the Junkers and the monopolists. Again the tragedy was the inability of the German opposition to unite strongly enough to reach this goal.

It was also at the Brussels conference that Pieck criticized the mistakes made by the German Communist Party, mistakes that contributed to the victory of fascism. All too often the Party allowed itself to be carried away by its hatred for the Social Democratic leaders who, indeed, persecuted the Communists without mercy. But even in a period when the fascists were becoming stronger and stronger many Communists still regarded Social Democracy as the key danger. This rendered more difficult, later on, the winning over of the Social Democrats for a united front against the Nazis, and made it easier for their leaders to block all efforts to this end.

THE catastrophe of World War II offered two lessons to the German people, Pieck told 60,000 Berlin men and women last August. They must change their character, must do away with their servile spirit and submissiveness towards their reactionary masters, and develop a democratic consciousness. The other side of this docility, he declared, was their arrogance toward other peoples; the belief in the superiority of the "German race." There can be no question that this theory exercised strong influence on the German people and particularly on the youth, and that it led to a moral and mental debasement. "Now we have to root out these false and barbaric doctrines, and teach the spirit of humanity, of peaceful collaboration with other peoples, and so create once and forever the guarantee against any further misuse of the Germans for aggressions.

"And finally, there is a third lesson," said Pieck: "At all times—under the Kaiser, in the Weimar Republic, and during the Hitler regime—it was the tactic of reaction to divide the people's forces in order to rule over the whole people. This was particularly fateful for the German working class. There is no other way out than to unite all anti-fascist forces in order to destroy reaction and imperialism. Only by doing this will the foundations be laid for the democratic and national and social unity of our people."

Pieck's political foresight, his never-despairing determination in the fight against reaction, his belief in the best elements of the German people—which never diminished even during the time when Germany sank to its lowest depths —these have made him what he is today—the most respected anti-fascist leader of Germany.

Through Pieck today speak the German Communists massacred by the Weimar Republic and the thousands more killed by the Nazi regime. The anti-fascist fighters of Germany have found in him a strong voice expressing the ideals and hopes they cherish. For Germans, earnestly looking for a new way of life, Pieck has become the symbol of honesty, modesty and unselfishness, the advancement of the working masses, a regard for other human beings and for other nations. This is what he tried to teach German war prisoners in the Soviet Union, where he was a member of the National Committee of Free Germany.

The German political drama has not had the happy ending Pieck hoped for. The liberation of Germany from Hitler's regime was not accomplished by the Germans themselves. However, in the evening of his life, Wilhelm Pieck has the satisfaction of fulfilling the dream he nurtured throughout the half century of his activity and to lend a skilled hand in the reconstruction of an anti-fascist German people's democracy. He is one of those who will lead Germany out of the night.

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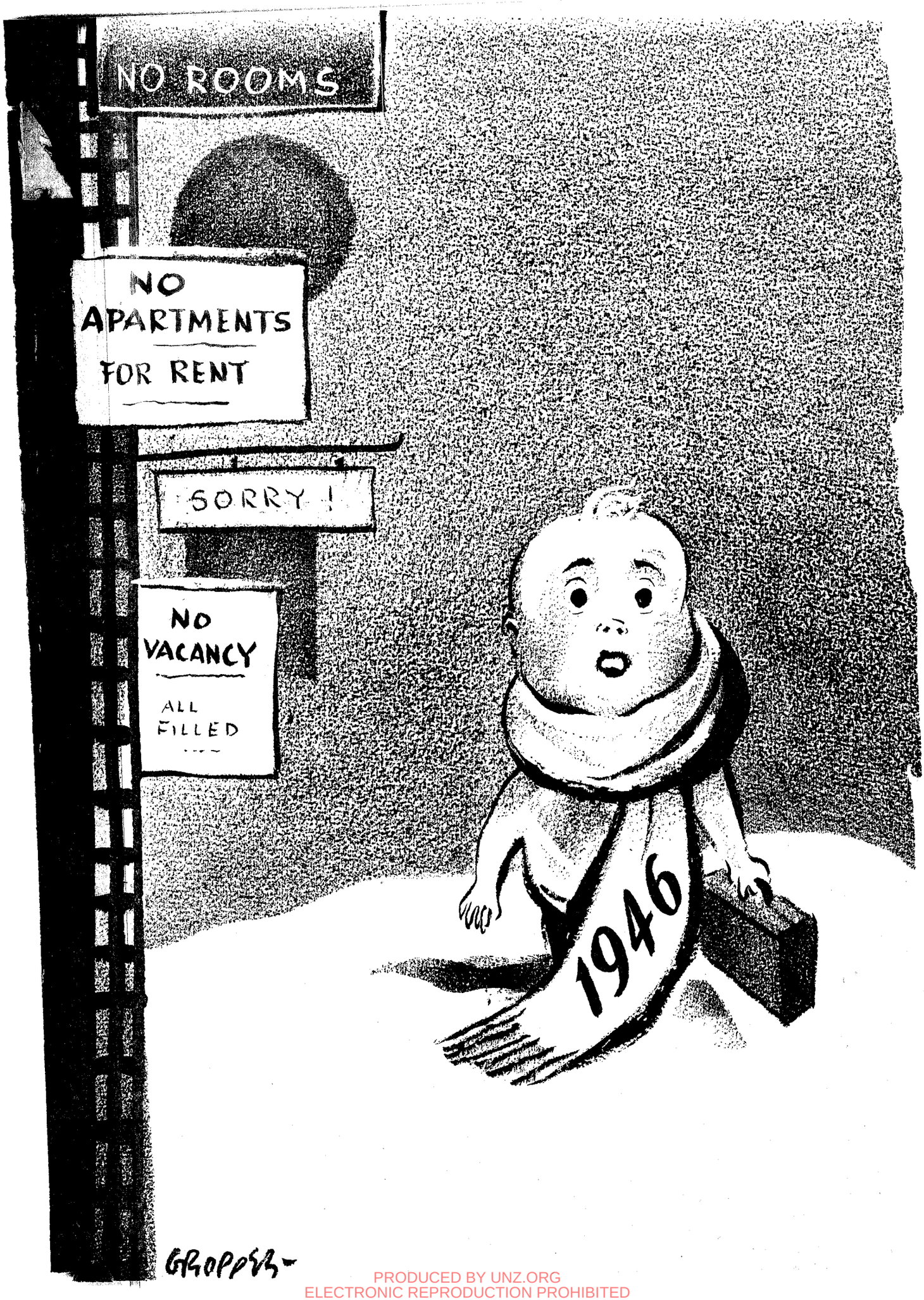

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RICHARD O. BOYER'S PAGE

THE WORLD GOVERNMENT I'M FOR

WORLD government as a means to world peace is too cogent an idea and too great a goal to permit it to mean anything to anybody and everything to everybody. It requires more precision than mere good will, more exactness than eloquence. Its machinery for peace must operate as flawlessly and as certainly as the machines of destruction it is designed to negate. The idea of world government as a road to world peace must not be allowed to degenerate to the point where every opponent of peace advocates war through the disguise of its phrases. Already many of its formal advocates are for world peace with everyone in the world save the Soviet Union, for peace with all humankind with the exception of 200,000,000 human beings who happen to live in a Socialist state.

Words can be snares as well as weapons. It was remarked long ago that the Devil quoted Scripture. We have seen men take the word "Liberty" and use it as a device for clipping coupons. Once the clippers even formed a League. We have observed others employing the word "Freedom." By adding "under law" they used it to repress Indian independence and by adding "to work" they used it as a weapon against the labor movement. We have heard the phrase "All men are created equal" quoted by poll taxers refusing Americans the vote if they were too poor to pay for it. There are some who may comfortably declare that these examples are mere exceptions. I think they are exceptions which placed the world in its present plight and brought two world wars within a generation. If this be true perhaps we should be certain that world government is not transformed to world rule or vitiated by adding the words "by us."

IF WE are serious about world government, we will be as interested in its content as in the sentiment that proposes it. In the first place, it seems to me, we must concede that world government is in itself no magic panacea. Whatever the scope of government, the human race remains. Whatever the authority and singleness of law, civil war is as common a phenomenon as wars between nations. A global civil war could be as destructive as an old fashioned world war. Whatever the justice and wisdom of the American government, for example, it did not prevent one of the bloodiest wars in history when differing concepts, operating under one government, exploded in 1861. Winston Churchill can hate the Soviet Union as effectively under a world government as he can under his Britannic Majesty. Messrs. Luce, Hearst and Patterson, with their brethren in and out of the Senate, can fulminate for action against the Soviet Union as freely under a global government as under Mr. Truman.

Second, if we want the fact of world government and not the phrase, we must remember that any government, including a global one, is only a reflection of the society in which it functions. There is nothing sacrosanct or separate in a code of law. By itself it will accomplish nothing. Its force derives from the people who give it being. If the very guts of a society is based on profit, monopoly, cutthroat competition and the struggle for markets, that fact, in a modern world, makes for war. And such a society will not erect a world state that outlaws itself. There was little wrong in the noble principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations. What made it, in the last analysis, an instrument for war was not the principles but the society in which it operated. To have a just government we must have a just society. Or, to be more pragmatic, to have a world government that works, we must have a world society that works; one which does not periodically break down into war-making depressions, one which does not deny the people of India and three-quarters of the world a share of the world's goods, and one which does not make for war and conflict by its very structure. To yearn for world peace, but to be unwilling to change world society, is merely to kid ourselves.

Most proponents of world government declare that a global code of law would in itself make for world peace. But whose law? American advocates of world law invariably think of Anglo-Saxon law or, at the very least, law deriving from those nations usually grouped together under the impressive title of Western Civilization. They think of world-wide codes providing for liberty of speech, religion, assembly and press and as they name them they eye the Soviet Union with a leering glance. But the Russians believe that the fundamentals of such a code should guarantee the right to full employment, the right to a job, the right and the means of education, the right and the means of leisure and health and a secure old age. There is little doubt that the world might benefit from our Bill of Rights. But what about the provision of the Soviet Constitution that no person shall live on income derived from the work of others?

At this point many advocates of world government speak of the gulf between the East and the West, declare that after all only Western civilization can be united, and begin to use the concept of world government as a concept for world war. Frequently, too, the analogy is made between municipal and national law and world law. But municipal and national law buttress the capitalist system rather than weaken it, while a world law forbidding monopoly from exploiting others would not only conflict with capitalism but would outlaw it, at least in its present form. How can world law exclude the Dutch from Indonesia, the Americans from China, the British from India without changing the economic structure that is the basic reason for their being there?

Leon Miller.

To those who would rather perish in one terrestial

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sizzle than change their views the solution is not palatable. For the solution is socialism. It is regrettable, perhaps, that the solution should be so ill-bred, but then so is the atom bomb. Now it may be said that to declare socialism the answer is to be dogmatic. But one might as well say that to declare the automobile better than the oxcart is dogmatic. One works in a modern world, the other doesn't. Socialism works. Capitalism does too. But it works for war because of its very nature.

Now does this mean that you can't work for world government and world peace in the immediate present? It does not.

It does mean that you can't logically whoop it up for Ernie Bevin and his world state when, as he proposes a Parliament of Man, he makes one impossible by the British course in India and Indonesia and by hostility to the Soviet Union.

It means that you can't oppose the smaller unity, the unity of Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, while favoring the larger unity of the world. If the three largest nations can't get along, harmony will not be introduced by adding fifty others.

You can fight for a world government by fighting for the labor movement, the first force broken in any drive toward the reaction that would make world unity impossible, the only consistent brake on the imperialism that leads to war.

You can fight for world government by fighting for the General Motors strikers. If they are defeated one of the first monopolies of the world, whose plants in Germany prospered nicely under the Nazis, will gain in strength, as will all monopoly. And if you ignore the role of monopoly in the modern world and modern war you are escaping to a dream world with a dream world government.

You can fight for world government by fighting Red-baiting, that great divisive force which gave us Hitler and the Second World War and which may give us a third. This does not mean, of course, that you can't oppose Communism and Communists. It merely means that opposition shall be on the basis of issues, measures, programs and proposals, that Communist measures shall be judged by the same criteria that you judge Republican or Democratic proposals and not by some obscurantist dogma akin to political original sin. Criticism on any other base will inevitably take you to the side of Hearst, Hitler, and, at last, the atom bomb.

You can fight for world government by fighting fascism in China, Rumania and Mississippi, for while fascism remains any talk of a democratic world government is specious.

You can fight for it in many other ways, but the fight must be here and now, for world government is more than a glorious principle. It will be a fact built from facts. It is being born today out of the present world. Its character is being formed by the assaults on the Indonesian people. Its shape is influenced, to however small a degree, by every industrialist mouthing formulas of social peace while he refuses to bargain with his employes. World government will not spring whole and perfect from superior minds and noble souls. We are forming it now by what we do today.

NO RED APPLE FOR THIS TEACHER

By SEYMOUR APPLEBAUM

The Board of Education of the City of New York is currently trying May A. Quinn, high school civics teacher, three full years after initial charges of pro-Nazi teaching and anti-Jewish activity were brought against her. Despite attempts to gag witnesses and in general to sabotage and delay the proceedings, the trial is unfolding a sordid and alarming picture of the kind of anti-democratic influences to which school children in this city have been exposed. What follows is an indication that the May Quinn trial only begins the tasks necessary to make the schools fit places for our children to spend their days.

Seymour Applebaum is a fifteen-year-old student from P.S. 25 in Brooklyn, who so objected to the doctrines of his history and mathematics teacher that he kept a diary of her pro-fascist remarks. NM asked Mr. Appelbaum to read his diary to a meeting initiating discussion on the establishment of a Jewish History Week, to counter just such past influences by a positive presentation of the contributions of the Jewish people to world culture. The current article is a stenotype transcript, slightly abridged, of Mr. Applebaum's speech at the meeting.

WE ARE here tonight to discuss how we can check anti-Semitism through a Jewish History Week, which shows, once again, how important we think is the right kind of education, and how important it can be. The right kind of education in the school requires the right kind of teachers. They are either the vanguard of democracy, or the vanguard of fascism. It is our duty to make sure that they themselves are not the fascists.

In the public school which I attended about a year and a half ago, P.S. 25, my history teacher, Gladys Laubenheimer, who was also the current events teacher, represents one of those teachers of whom we must beware, those who are the real danger to society. I put down a diary of what she said. At least I tried to get some of it down—she spoke very fast, and I couldn't get everything. But I tried to put down notes, and to keep it in regular order, day by day, because I realized that this was something dangerous.

Mrs. Laubenheimer was a very fast speaker, as I said before. She likes to lean against her favorite radiator and to look at the class with a very grim expression on her face. There had to be absolute order and silence. You could hear half a pin drop. And then, after the first grim look, to make sure we were scared enough of her, she started to talk. The previous term she had been our math teacher, and we also learned a little something about insurance. And during the time she was teaching us insurance, she said, in response to a question by one of the students as to which is better, insurance or war bonds, that insurance was better. She said that war bonds might be all right for someone who wants to fight this war, but insurance, in the long run, pays you better, and you never get cheated by insurance.

She also taught the mathematics of social security. So she said about war bonds that since we had the kind of President we had, what is the difference

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between President Roosevelt, who brought about social security in 1933, and Hitler, who brought about social security in Germany in 1934? She couldn't see any difference. They were both the same thing.

The next term, when we had her in history, she began by showing us how we can apply the subject. [Reading from diary] "February 2, 1944: We should learn from history. In the first World War Japan was a good nation, and now she is fighting us. In this war Russia is supposed to be good, but in twenty-five years from now we'll have another war, I know, and Russia might be the cause. Look, she's grabbing all of Europe now."

Then, going on the subject of immigration, which is in the 8-B curriculum, she said, "Anybody who reads the language of any other country should be sent to that country or locked up in jail. In European countries, except Germany, if you don't speak the national language fluently after five years, you are deported. America should do so also. All the foreigners who come to this country always grab everything from the real Americans. Grab, grab, grab—that's all they do. They take all and they don't give anything. They're taking things from us, the real Americans. They should be shipped out of the United States, or put in prison. All people who are not citizens should be interned or deported. People should not be allowed to congregate. All the colonies of people living together, such as Brownsville and Yorkville, should be broken up. There should be no other languages or customs in America. America for good Americans only."

One of the pupils asked: "Do foreign papers include the Jewish papers?" The answer to this question was "Yes." The second question was, "To what country should the Jewish people who read Jewish papers be shipped, Mrs. Laubenheimer, since the Jewish people have no homeland?" Mrs. Laubenheimer avoided answering the second question, saying that all publications and papers of these people should be stopped.

In our class almost all the students were Jewish, with the exception of one Negro girl. Mrs. Laubenheimer never directly attacked the Negro people, and seldom directly attacked the Jewish people. But she did in one of the current events classes bring up a very inciting and vile issue of racism. "We should not fight another part of the white race as we are doing now. Why do we fight the Germans? After all, we are all white. This is a racial war. War between the yellow and white races. The yellow race think they are superior, but they are really inferior. The Japanese are fighting us with terror in mind, and we should do likewise. When they attacked Pearl Harbor, they were perfectly right from their point of view. Nothing can be wrong in a racial war. From our point of view we can do anything. We should not fight Germany. We should back up and organize and attack the yellow race." Later on she said that she disliked everybody and every place in Asia.

The next week, on Monday, Feb. 7, 1944, in history class Miss Laubenheimer continues: "I was sitting in the subway and I saw a man with a white beard reading a foreign paper. And you know what I felt like? I felt like getting up and slapping that man and taking the paper and tearing it up. But I felt too much like a lady to do such a thing. The government should do that, and should lock them up or send them some place. Boys and girls, I want to make a plea to you." (But she wasn't pleading with us, she was ordering us. Her face looked grimmer than ever at this point.) "If your parents follow any alien customs or do strange things such as certain rituals of race or religion, or follow strange and foreign traditions, or do anything like that, stop them. Don't allow such a thing, don't allow such un-Americanism to go on in your homes."

She said many things. Day after day she kept on along the same lines, sometimes less vicious, sometimes more vicious. There are many other excerpts, but here's one very important one. I decided to get up, because I was fed up with this; it was rather disgusting. And I said that any person has a right to read any language he wants to. This is a free country. Why do they teach languages in high school, if one is not allowed to read or learn any other language? A person has a right to live his own way. That is America, that is democracy, freedom, individuality and culture. She told me to sit down, and that I had no right intruding, and that I was a "bad boy."

The next day she brought in a statement made by a "great man," Theodore Roosevelt, who fitted his times with a strong American nationalism. He had his good and his bad points. But she took from his "Creed of Americanism" to show how I was wrong and how she was right. She said that people should not be hyphenated. What did she mean by that? She said that people have no right to do anything except in a certain pattern of life, which is her pattern.

When I got up and spoke she said, "Most of the trash of America comes from Europe. I once heard a very smart man, a very brilliant man say that though America is called the melting pot, one has to put in gold to get gold out." That man must be an alchemist.

She continued, "You can't make stew from garbage, or good Americans from most foreigners. They are the garbage, the trash of all countries. You can't take trash and make decent Americans. Put dirt in the melting pot and you get nothing out but dirt, the dirt you get from immigration." That is, most immigrants, except a few, like Carnegie. She said a few nice people came to America. I wonder if some people came from Germany to see that we became real Americans?

A few more days passed, and every day I had a nice long list of words, some of which I remembered, others I forgot; they dissipated into the atmosphere, and into the minds of the students. Later on I found out that this had a direct effect even in other classes where she was not so outspoken. Her attitude and her way of approaching the students directly influenced their method of thinking. She kept on saying things like: "People who speak other languages or follow strange customs can get like certain nations who wait for their chance to get the most from others, the real Americans. They must be deported." And she continued on that line, repetition and repetition, but with little twists here and there. On February 16, 1944, again in history class, she said, "All people with communistic ideas or who try to support Russia in any way should be deported." Perhaps she was only trying to give the shipping companies a lot of business.

Later on she told us that strange, weird people with alien ideas are trying to turn us against our real benefactors, the millionaires. They are the only ones who built America. Take a look at the book: didn't Carnegie endow our libraries, didn't Rockefeller give us a Rockefeller Foundation? What did these guys who complain about the millionaires ever do for America? They are aliens. Don't believe them. She said that only in extremely rare cases was any wrong ever done by the rich. I suppose she meant Marshall Field.

Tuesday, March 14, in history: "In this country until ten years ago with our present administration, we always had a

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